REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Review of literature

It would not be out of place to mention certain popular research papers which have contributed immensely to the present doctoral thesis through their significant findings. It is not easy to arrange thematically various reviews related to our study as less or more the studies talked about various issues related to and factors responsible for the poor socio-economic condition, which interweave together and the reasons behind the discrimination in a single ambit.

As far as social mobility is concerned it refers to the movement of individuals, households or any group, through a system of social hierarchy. It can be defined as “ability of individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds to move up in the world, akin to the notion of equality of opportunity” (Crawford et al., 2011) and ‘a tendency towards greater equality of chances of access, for individuals of all social origins, to positions differently located within the social division of labour’ (Goldthorpe and Jackson, 2007). The above-mentioned definitions point towards the notion that those who are deprived or disadvantaged should get equal access to opportunities rather than mere legislative protection policies such as affirmative action policies for them.

Measurement and defining social mobility is always a tough task because it has so many dimensions and scholars have different approaches related to social mobility. Among those we have approaches like of Sorokin (1964) who defined social mobility as ‘a social phenomenon which refers to a change or alteration in the status of an individual or a group.’ According to the Dictionary of Sociology, “social mobility refers to the movement of individuals between different levels of the social mobility, usually defined
occupationally.” Tumin (1970) has mentioned that the study of social mobility corresponds to inter-generational mobility (father and son), family strata, education, and occupation.

As these approaches are taking one or the other dimensions of social mobility, it can be divided into studies on ‘single’ approach (Warner, 1953; Lipset and Bendix, 1959) which argued that occupation is the sole criterion for determining one’s social status. But some scholars opined that single approach is inadequate to analyse social mobility (Heek, 1956; Lipset and Zetterberg, 1956) which described the theory of social mobility is based on ‘multiple’ approaches according to which, mobility of a group or individual is determined by the shift to and ranking of multiple dimensions like literacy, occupation, monthly income, consumption pattern, use of consumer durables, social power, etc.

The studies based on singular approach can be classified as studies focusing on caste status, individual and family units as a measurement of mobility. We have studies (Ghurye, 1961; Srinivas, 1966; Mukherjee, 1970; Betille, 1971) which were based on social mobility in terms of caste status and their position in social hierarchy in terms of Sanskritisation, modernisation and power shifting from high caste to low castes in India. The studies (Gist, 1954; Singer, 1968; Singh, 1976; Nafziger, 1978) focusing on individual mobility are basically studies on occupational, economic change and intergenerational mobility, however; others (Attwood et al., 1979; Parvathamma, 1984; Rao and Babu, 1994) have used household or family as a unit to measure social mobility capturing socio-economic changes over the years by household and individual characteristics.

Social mobility may be of two type; viz. horizontal and vertical. By horizontal mobility means such a change that involves a change in position, especially in occupation, but no change in social status concerned in society or an occupational change which of similar nature like agriculture labour to non-agriculture labour activities. On the other hand, vertical mobility means a change in social status or class, which may be again ‘downward’ or ‘upward.’ Greater social mobility may result in higher socio-economic development for disadvantaged and reduced gaps between high and low caste status as
well as class differences. Class domination over caste status may result into casteless society and increased opportunities result into a classless society.

Nevertheless, the study found following reviews (mostly empirical) are most important for better understanding of the topic, in framing objectives and adopting appropriate methodology.

2.1.1 Socio-economic condition, educational - occupational mobility

A study (Driver, 1962) to find the relation of caste with occupational structure in urban and rural Central India in Nagpur District between two generations, found intergenerational mobility is frequent among rural and urban castes but it is generally confined to occupations of similar rank (horizontal mobility). Hence, its effect upon the traditional association between positions in the caste and occupational hierarchies is quite minimal. According to him, this association is, however, largely the result of differences among the castes in their educational attainment, as both in rural and urban areas the lower caste groups have large proportions of educated below primary levels. The author opined that awareness of education has resulted in increased opportunities for the backward and scheduled castes.

A study (George, 1999) of Hyderabad, India to explore the occupational outcomes of migrants, posited that occupations associated with longer durations in the city were also associated with higher educational levels. Likewise, those occupations associated with shorter durations in the city were associated with lower educational levels. The analysis revealed that the manufacturing sector comprises of jobs at the higher end of the occupational hierarchy (higher education and longer durations), and the construction, transportation and utility sector comprises jobs that may be characterised as “easy entry” jobs (low education and durations). Among the worker status categories, own account workers were associated with low education and shorter durations, while self-employment was associated with longer durations and educational levels. The effect of gender, caste, and religion, in particular, influenced participation in other industrial/worker status categories to a very great extent.
Findings of the study suggested that among the migrants in the study, labour force participation may be contingent more on ascriptive factors, such as gender, religion, and caste, rather than purely achievement factors like education and the level of information acquired from longer durations in the city. But according to Driver (1962) gains in education alone are insufficient because the number of persons who can obtain jobs in various occupational classes depends on the structure of the economy at any point in time. In this context, the extent, to which the Government of India achieves its objectives, becomes significant.

A study (Jain, 1969) of a middle sized town Soehara, where Muslims constituted majority population and the economy being predominantly agricultural, found the rate of mobility was fairly significant and community showed a high rate of movement between the subject’s and his father’s generations than between the subject’s father’s and his grandfathers’ generations. Religion-wise, the Muslims who constituted the majority population of the town show a higher rate of mobility over the three generations than the Hindus who are in a minority. It is concluded that, if a town community is divided into majority and minority on the basis of religious differentiation, the majority group is likely to monopolise the channels of social mobility and occupational structure also favours the majority group as they concentrate in some particular better occupations than minority group. According to him, the planners will have to take into consideration the relative benefits and deprivations that might accrue to a majority and a minority group in a given area.

A study (Lynch, 1969) of scheduled caste community called Jatavas in Agra city, whose traditional occupation is leather working, shoe making and some of them owned shoe factories who formed wealthy elite within the caste, analysed the social mobility and search for respectability among them. The study found that at first; wealth alone did not lead to agitation to improve the social status of Jatavas and then later, Arya Samaj movement stimulated the Jatavas to improve their social status by adopting Sanskritic symbols, rituals, and better education. A few rich Jatavs started industries; businesses, formed associations, drew upon the familiar myths of accidental pollution in the distant
past and claimed Kshatriya status for themselves. They started identifying themselves with upper castes to improve their ritual status in the society through ‘Sanskritisation’.

Nijhawan (1969) using a national sample survey of 1967, carried out by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), classified occupations among the following eight occupational categories: (i) professional (ii) business (iii) white collar (iv) cultivator (v) skilled factory workers (vi) skilled non-factory workers (vii) unskilled workers and (viii) agricultural labourers. The author found the extent of out-mobility of the sons of fathers from white-collar, professional and business occupations is higher than those from skilled and unskilled workers. Among agriculturists, the out-mobility of sons of agricultural labourers is relatively higher than that of the sons of owner or tenant cultivators. The extent of in-mobility into business and owner cultivation was the least. Irrespective of social origins, sons found it relatively easier to move into non-agricultural occupations than into agricultural occupations. The system does not offer equal occupational opportunities to sons of all origins.

A study (Jetley, 1969) of Seon village near Varanasi found formal education has enabled the ‘Koiris’ the main cultivating castes of the village, whose traditional occupation was growing of fruits and vegetables to diversify their employment. Occupational diversification has not, however, been accompanied by spatial mobility, because of attachment to the village, family, and caste is strong. The improvement in the secular rank of the ‘Koiris’ because of their higher education, political power and increased incomes through the diversified occupational structure, and scientific agriculture is accompanied by a strong urge to invest in the improvement of ritual status. They have standardised their customs and lifeways in accordance with Sanskritic values, organised religious assemblies, constructed temples and have chosen a new caste name ‘Maurya.’

Nijhawan (1971) in another study found, as compared to 56.5% of respondents in urban areas, only 27.0% of the respondents from rural areas have experienced occupational mobility, because rural areas represent a stabilised social order not greatly touched by changes occurring elsewhere. Also, a large part of rural areas lacks in facilities of education. Even if educational facilities are gradually becoming available, only the
economically well-off social sections can take advantage of higher education which is a prime instrument of occupational mobility.

The author further noted that respondents belonging to upper and lower castes are more mobile compared to those in the middle castes. While those in the upper castes are able by virtue of their greater command of economic resources to provide better education to their children and therefore opportunities for their occupational mobility, the conditions making for mobility are likely to be very different for the low caste groups. The later, lacking adequate economic assets for earning and assured livelihood is pushed out of their own habitat to seek employment elsewhere, primarily to the urban centres. Relatively lower occupational mobility among SCs and STs can probably be explained in terms of their very poor economic condition. In spite of certain privileges offered to these communities in the shape of reservation of jobs, the traditionally deprived social status meant an excessive economic dependence of these communities on the privileged social sections.

According to him the relationship of education and familial economic status with occupational mobility is obvious but it must be noted that mobility differentials caused by income differences are comparatively less sharp than those caused by variations in education.

A study (Abraham and Subramanian, 1974) of five villages of Madurai district, Tamil Nadu having a sample size of 281 found that among upper castes, social mobility has been essentially horizontal movement from one occupation to another of the same status, but among the service castes and untouchables of the villages, mobility has taken place on vertical lines, whose occupations were earlier governed by custom and tradition, they shifted into self-employment not bound by caste tradition, ensure a greater degree of freedom and autonomy for the individuals.

Further, respondents had higher educational level than their fathers and many of the lower castes are taking advantage of the new opportunities like fee concessions, scholarships, and free education accorded them. Physical mobility was limited and
influenced as much by kinship relations as by economic considerations and people often move to adjoining villages. Migration outside the district was rare and outside the State was absent. However, a good number of respondents were willing to move out of their villages and settle down anywhere in the country. The study concluded caste tradition and the related liabilities with which individuals enter into the labour market; low levels of education, lack of skills, absence of any industrial undertakings in the neighborhood, and the type of family background act as impediments in the way of upward mobility but the motivation is there and the process is already under way.

The study (Dubey, 1975) of Gorakhpur district in U.P., which was also emerging as transitional city characterised by economic, industrial, demographic and social changes therein found that most of the urban SC students are enrolled in higher education and willing to go for the higher studies but this proportion is very low for rural SCs, which showed aspirational differences between regions were prevalent in the study area. The study also found that students going for higher education were highly concentrated among those whose parents had higher literacy levels and as well as were doing high payment jobs like white collar jobs. It is evident from the results that parent’s level of education and occupational category plays an important role in deciding their children’s education attainment level.

A study (Mohan, 1984) based on a census survey of a small multi-caste village of Andhra Pradesh, during 1980-81 to analyse social mobility by comparing occupations of four generations found that during the respondents’ grandfathers’ period, the occupational structure of the village was caste-bound. During the period under reference, the occupational structure of the village had become more flexible, adaptive and open, with as many as 37 different occupations had been added, owing to the changing needs and demands of the village.

The study also found that the deviations from caste occupations are becoming more pronounced in the village over a period of four generations and this phenomenon is primarily visible during the respondents’ and their employed sons’ generations. The study also added that, but it may not be inferred that those who deviated from their traditional
callings had totally given up their traditional occupations. Among those who deviated from their traditional occupations, some have retained their traditional occupations as their subsidiary occupations. Though such practice is observed by all castes in the first three generations, interestingly none of the employed sons has retained his traditional callings as a subsidiary activity, showing evidence for occupational mobility taking place.

The study concluded that greater emphasis laid on individual achievements rather than on caste considerations. This trend is gaining in importance leading to changes in mobility-patterns, from group mobility to individual mobility. Further, it is possible even for the members of low castes to achieve upward social mobility. But it is true that a certain amount of general correlation between caste and occupation still exists.

**Sharma (1986)** has pointed out that, the socio-economic status of SCs in contemporary India is much weak as they have been highly concentrated in the tenant cultivation, which is characterised by low payments or wages results in high economic inequality, determined by the caste system. Although according to him, “compared to the historical situation of the SCs, present situation is definitely appreciable. But still, the present situation is witnessing the socio-economic injustice.” Ultimately the caste hierarchy forces and determines the socio-economic status of a social group.

According to a study (**Eswaraiah, 1994**) in, Ananthapur and Krishna districts of Andhra Pradesh, which consists of 580 households - 580 fathers and 580 sons, social mobility among weaker sections is a challenging task in Andhra Pradesh. The study deals with the SCs’ pollution-purity issues and multidimensional social mobility across two generations: fathers and sons. Ananthapur had more pollution issues, outside the home than Krishna districts. But at home, Hindu castes of both districts had more pollution issues with SCs. The differences between SC fathers and sons in pollution-purity scores tables were not significant. Among the two sub-communities, Madiga and Mala, mala had little more socio-economic scores.

Among the four occupational grade groups of SCs, the last 4th group had higher scores as it has protected government employees. The remaining three groups had low and insecure
family income. A majority of fathers’ generation (82.6%) was engaged in leather work cum agriculture labour. Sons’ frequency in the same category was low (53.5%), but the differences among occupational groups of fathers and sons were not significant as there was less deviation/mobility since six decades. The author opined that in spite of constitutional provisions of tri-level reservations and welfare programmes, social mobility of sample rural SCs was not significant.

A study (Sunderaj, 1994) conducted in 15 randomly selected villages from Tamil Nadu with a sample size of 513 applied the diffusion theory (explain the characteristics of those who are adopters) to the adoption of social welfare schemes, considered here as innovations, by rural Scheduled Castes of Tamil Nadu, India, who were mostly farm labourers. This study was about the consequence of the adoption of social welfare schemes in terms of social mobility and focused on the characteristics that distinguish rural Scheduled Castes of high social mobility from those of low social mobility.

The study found that the innovative, which in this study constitute the high social mobility group, were found to have a higher level of involvement in politics and to enjoy higher social structural support. Those of low social mobility were found to be illiterate and superstitious with a strong belief in fate, poor exposure to mass media, a low level of awareness of welfare schemes, and a low level of social and political participation. The findings of study challenged some of the assumptions of the diffusion theory, namely, that the adopting unit has a free choice; that the social system, as it exists, is just; that individuals have equal access to resources needed to adopt innovations; that inequalities of distribution are reduced over time; and that all potential adopters of innovation are exposed to the first step flow of communication.

Kumar et al. (2002) using sample data from 1996 National Election Study (NES) carried out by CSDS found upper caste respondents were associated with more privileged class positions in the high salariat, business and farming sectors. At the other extreme, the Adivasi who were over-represented in the agricultural class and in unskilled manual work, but under-represented in every other class. Dalits showed a rather similar distribution to the Adivasi, but show a more marked concentration in unskilled manual work and are notably infrequent in the class of larger farmers.
The study further noted that there is a clear link between community and class. However, there are significant numbers of upper castes in low-level classes such as the petty business and unskilled manual classes. Conversely, there are some Dalits, and rather fewer Adivasi, who have reached the upper salariat. Again, as with class mobility, some of these discrepancies are due to the differing sizes of the community and class groups. However, not all the discrepancies can be explained by the sizes of the categories.

The study concluded that there persist substantial class inequalities. A man from upper salariat origins has had far superior chances to a man from an unskilled manual background of achieving a higher salariat position for himself. In fact, in the period covered by the 1996 NES, his chances were 20 times those of the man from the unskilled background. These class inequalities cannot, however, be explained by the current operation of caste in Indian society. To be sure, the historical legacy of caste should not be ignored, but study suspects that similar class inequalities could probably be found in other countries that lack the caste system but are at similar stages of economic development.

According to a study (Shah et al., 2006), the backwardness and discrimination against SCs were noticed in the states across India. The survey study was conducted in the 11 states, 565 villages, and 42 regions. It was found that the Dalits do not see untouchability as a fast fading remnant of our feudal past but was flexible part of our contemporary reality which was becoming part of the Indian version of capitalism. The study found the existence of untouchability in 80.0% of survey villages, universal residential segregation of Dalits and discrimination in the market. The incidence of untouchability in this study was found to be the lowest in the Kerala and Punjab states. The study noted that all Dalits do not experience untouchability to the same degree and those engaged in unclean occupations are poor manual labour who suffer the worst of these discriminatory practices. The authors finally saw increased public awareness, the assertion of Dalits and an active/vigilant state are three necessities to challenge untouchability in rural India.

A study (Deshpande and Palshikar, 2008) conducted on the relationship between caste and occupation in Pune investigated the patterns of intergenerational occupational
mobility across four generations of different caste groups in the city. The study found that while caste is not strongly associated with occupational mobility in general, it is certainly important for upward mobility though the extent of mobility is different among different castes. The argument that in modern urban situations caste would lose its salience appears to be sociologically convincing, authors did not deny that possibility and the capacity of the modern secular sector to overcome the hold of caste in defining worth and opportunity structures available to groups. At the same time, the study clearly suggested that in the case of upward mobility, caste still matters.

Highlighting the importance of higher education for the development of weaker sections like SC/STs, Wankhede (2008) tried to address issues like the socio-economic and educational background of the beneficiaries, implementation procedure, problems and experiences of the beneficiaries while availing themselves of the scheme on the basis of primary data collected from two states: Maharashtra and Rajasthan in India. The study found that due to their traditional socio-economic handicaps and obstacles, their access to, performance and sustenance in education is negatively affected. Various measures and special provisions in education to encourage and motivate them for higher education were taken by the government like; the post-matric scholarship scheme proves to be one of the major incentives for these communities but there are several weaknesses in implementing the scheme and needs to be revamped and a comprehensive evaluation of the scheme was long overdue pertaining to its strengths and weakness besides its impact.

Karade (2009) in his study of Kolhapur city of Maharashtra has tried made a systematic attempt to establish a positive co-relation between education and occupational mobility. The author studied both inter-generational (three generations of the same family) and intra-generational occupational mobility, with a relatively small sample comprising 186 respondents in the Kolhapur city of Maharashtra. The study found first; the members of the Buddhist community secured higher professional and technical education compared to the other non-Buddhist SC communities. Second, even those who have secured a higher education and obtained better positions in terms of economic and social status are also not able to overcome the caste prejudices and could not totally escape from the discrimination. Third, so far intra-generational occupational mobility is concerned; study
observed the successive generations of the SC communities aspire for still better occupational positions as these impart social prestige along with material empowerment.

Karade suggested introducing affirmative action policy in the private sector because the process of globalisation, liberalisation, and privatisation declined the space of the State in the economic activities and reservations are being limited to these activities only.

Breen (2010) measured the effect of educational expansion as a mechanism by which inequalities in social mobility chances may be reduced and compared it with the impact of educational equalisation on social mobility in Britain, Sweden, and Germany during the 20th century. The study found that in all three countries educational expansion encouraged greater social mobility. Whether educational expansion leads to greater social mobility or not, will be depending on situations of whether it is accompanied by educational equalisation, dis-equalisation or no change. The author opined that the equalising impact of expansion on social fluidity was offset by the manner in which expansion affected educational equalisation; in particular, if the beneficiaries of expansion were mainly young people from more advantaged class origins, this could promote educational inequality whose impact on social fluidity would run counter to that of equalisation itself. Educational expansion alone is thus somewhat risky policy if one's goal is to increase social fluidity. On this account, educational equalisation is the result both of specific policies within education and of an increasing equality of condition in society as a whole.

Ray and Majumder (2010) in his study using NSS database on employment and unemployment (unit level records) for the 50th (1993) and the 61st (2004) rounds as to obtain multi-generational data on education, occupation, earnings and other socio-economic parameters found strong intergenerational stickiness in educational achievement and occupational distribution among SCs and STs, who have been discriminated against historically. About 48.0% of the children in 1993 and about 56.0% of them in 2004 have higher educational levels as compared to those of their parents. Upward mobility was quite lower for the excluded classes (SCs, STs, and OBCs) as compared to the advanced classes (generals) in 1993.
The study found occupational mobility was lower than educational mobility, indicating that educational advancement was not being transformed fully into occupational improvement and leads to pre and post labour market discrimination. For the advanced classes, the mobility from Blue Collar to Pink Collar and from Pink Collar to White Collar jobs (vertical mobility) was substantial, while for the excluded social groups, much of the mobility was horizontal, that is, from one occupation to other within the broad grades. This also brings to the fore the fact that historical discrimination and social exclusion have had a long run effect and that the inertia is quite strong. Study suggested some possible policies like targeted programmes to improve the educational situation among the excluded groups, encouraging occupational diversification among these groups and steps must also be taken to check if these groups are facing any discrimination in the labour market.

Chusseau and Hellier (2011) in their study with objective to analyse the impact of the structure of the educational system, upon the formation and the intergenerational persistence of social segmentation constructed a stylised model that portrays the main features of educational systems showed the educational system characteristics combined with the initial distribution of human capital across individuals can generate very different social stratifications, with under education traps (situations in which certain dynasties remain unskilled from generation to generation).

According to them, this is because individuals from unskilled families attain a low human capital level at the end of basic education, this level being a key factor determining their performance in higher education. They, therefore, have no incentive to pursue further education because the related cost is higher than the related income benefit. The simulations portray two ideal-type systems, one egalitarian and the other elitist and a system in between. The egalitarian system results in two-segment stratification, quasi-income equality and no under education trap whereas the elitist system generates segments like; significant inequality and a large under education trap.

Hnatkovska et al. (2012) in their study using NSS data from 1983 to 2004-05 found this has been a period of dramatic changes for historically disadvantaged groups like SC/STs.
They have systematically and significantly reduced the gap with non-SC/STs in their average educational attainment levels and in their relative representations in different occupations. Moreover, the median wage and consumption gaps between SC/STs and non-SC/STs have narrowed sharply during this period. The convergence in occupation and wages is mostly due to a convergence in attributes, especially education.

For both wages and consumption, the convergence is much sharper for the lower percentile groups. In education, there has been caste convergence in the relatively lower education categories but a slight increase in the gaps for the highest education categories. For occupation choices, there has been convergence in representations of the two groups in blue collar occupations (such as sales workers, service workers, and production workers) but a divergence in their representations in white collar occupations. Hence, in contrast to the conventional view, the relatively better-off SC/STs may not have benefited more from the undergoing changes in the economy than the poorer SC/STs.

A study (Vaid, 2012) using individual level NES 2004 data set from the CSDS, Delhi, with approximately 27,000 respondents, found although the relationship between caste and class was not completely straightforward, a tentative correspondence between castes and classes at the extremes of the caste system did exist. High Castes were loosely concentrated in the higher social classes such as the professional, large business, and farming classes, indicating that these High Castes dominate the white-collar classes and were able to avoid manual work. The study observed a slight weakening, rather than a steady decline, in the association between caste and class over time.

Finally, with regard to social mobility opportunities, the study found that although SCs have a difficult time gaining upward class mobility, higher castes are not entirely cushioned from the forces of downward mobility. Findings indicated that in India the modernisation argument has not played out entirely as expected. On the one hand, there is a weakening of the caste-class association, at least in the middle of the class schema. On the other hand, the manual/non-manual work divide persists among the castes.
Syal (2012) used the NES 2004 data set and found an increase in intergenerational education levels can positively influence an individual’s political interest and political participation. Participatory trends in India are influenced by demographic factors such as caste, class, gender, income, and locality. However, the study found education can have a liberating effect from these various socio-economic constraints. It can provide greater access to resources and information, thus helping to increase active political participation.

Gang et al. (2012) in their study, using five rounds of all-India employment data from the NSS quinquennial surveys from 1983 to 2004, made an attempt to capture the relationship between low caste status and occupational segregation with the aftermath political and social changes in India. The study found that the likelihood of being an agricultural labourer household increased by 27.1% if the household is from SC community and the likelihoods of the SC household being in the ‘self-employed, non-agriculture’, ‘self-employed, agriculture’ and ‘miscellaneous’ occupational types decreased by - 6.8%, - 18.6% and - 2.8% respectively.

Thus occupational segregation of SC households is clearly noticeable; SC households with the same endowment characteristics like; educational level, demographic characteristics and land ownership as “Other Castes and Classes” (OCC) households are more likely to be in the agricultural labourer activities relative to similar OCC households, an occupational grouping which has by far the highest incidence of poverty in rural India. While the occupational structure of the SC households was found converging to that of the non-scheduled households. However, ST households are somewhere near to SCs though not of the same degree of occupational segregation was found for STs as the SCs and evidence of a similar occupational convergence as for ST households was not found as the SCs.

Clark and Landes (2012) in their study to measure intergenerational social mobility in Bengal from 1860 to 2010 using surname distributions studied caste and class dichotomy of the social mobility in India and found long run social mobility rates for elite and underclass groups in India can be compared with those of other societies such as Sweden and the USA. The study found despite reservation in higher education, and in government
jobs, for the lower castes, social mobility rates in India, turn out to be extremely low, and not any higher now than under the British Raj. According to the study, despite extensive social engineering, India seems to be an unusually immobile society because of high rates of marital endogamy among social groups and within caste groups of the Hindu population in India. According to authors, while there will be social mobility within each caste, but in presence of endogamy, ascriptive and endowment differences persist among different castes. This results in little or no social mobility as far as caste is concerned and differences in socio-economic rankings between social groups diminish little, or not at all, over time.

A study (Cheema and Naseer, 2013) of rural households in 35 randomly selected villages in rural Punjab, Pakistan, data drawn between November 2007 and March 2008 to analyse educational attainment over three generations to determine if the fruits of post-independence development have translated into comparable rates of educational and social opportunities for all strata in the village economy found evidence of increasing intergenerational mobility in educational attainment across three generations of rural males in the district, however, there were significant differences in the degree of intergenerational mobility across quoms (lineage groups): the historically non-propertied groups (associated with poor economic and social outcomes) experience far less long-run mobility in educational attainment than the propertied groups. This indicated the worsening long-run equality of opportunities among these groups, implying that the agrarian transformation in the district has resulted in a lopsided rise in fortunes.

While impressive gains have been made by the propertied in terms of school transitions, households at the bottom of the historical social hierarchy continued to have extremely low rates of transition to schools, in spite of increased provision of schools in the district’s villages. The outcome is that households belonging to the historically depressed quom have fallen a generation behind in terms of educational attainment compared to non-depressed quom households. Finally, there is tremendous heterogeneity in educational attainment within the different quom groups. The cause for serious concern was that artisan households in the 25th percentile and the historically depressed quom
households in the 35\textsuperscript{th} percentile of the distribution of educational attainment have had zero change in educational attainment across three generations.

\textbf{Das (2013)} opined education could be a factor of social mobility and results in increased opportunities however in a rigidly stratified social system, formal institutions like; the educational system cannot remain unaffected or biased. The author recognised the role of schools in fighting the prejudices related to caste and getting a playing level field especially for disadvantaged backgrounds, which help them to overcome the barriers and obstacles in getting better social status in society. Still, in many cases, lower castes may remain in the lower status even after attaining the highest educational status. Those who are socially disadvantaged and stigmatised with discrimination differ in every aspect of their life chances, their institutional pattern of conduct, their life styles or cultural patterns and their attitudes, ideologies, and beliefs.

The nature of the existent social structure can be an obstruction for aspiration to move upward. According to \textbf{Horan (1974)} occupations in India have traditionally been decided on the basis of caste. Even though this may no longer be strictly true, expectations regarding occupations are coloured by occupations followed within the family in prior generations. The author noted inter-generational occupational choices are not determined simply by the handing down of occupations from fathers to sons based on caste. The movement involves an “extensive structuring of occupational aspirations and expectations and an equally extensive structuring of access to occupational skills.” So intergenerational occupational mobility, in the Indian context is neither expected nor easy to execute. Therefore, for a person to move away from the occupational choices followed by the previous generation there should be clear benefits on offer and a higher payoff will be expected.

Some evidence for such shifts is presented by \textbf{Hnatkovska et al. (2013)} where the authors found inter-generational occupational mobility to be on the rise for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in India. The authors credited affirmative actions initiated by the Government of India to be an important contributor for this.
Reddy (2015) used data from six rounds of the Employment and Unemployment Survey (from 1983 to 2009–10) to examine changes in intergenerational occupational mobility, among co-resident father–son pairs in rural India. The study classified occupations into four groups: white-collar workers, skilled workers, farmers, and unskilled workers. The study found absolute mobility rates were low but rose over the reference period and in each round, absolute intergenerational occupational mobility rates were lower for SC and ST males than for Other Caste (Non-SC/ST) males. Lastly, sons of unskilled workers and farmers experienced greater immobility than sons of white collar workers and skilled workers.

A study (Reddy and Swaminathan, 2015) based on a sample of 10 villages and a total number of 2500 household surveyed between 2005 and 2010 in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, and Karnataka by the Foundation for Agrarian Studies, to map occupational change across three generations, took four occupational categories as big farmers, small farmers, skilled workers/salaried workers/persons engaged in business and rural manual workers. The study found Firstly; low intergenerational occupational mobility in all 10 villages, particularly among big farmers and rural manual workers. For example, in Mahatwar, a Dalit-majority village of eastern Uttar Pradesh, 81.0% of big farmers’ sons and 92.0% of rural manual workers’ sons remained in the same occupation as their fathers. And particularly intergenerational occupational immobility was higher among manual workers from SCs than manual workers from Other Castes.

Secondly; upward mobility out of the category of rural manual work was much lower for SCs than for Other Castes. At the same time, downward mobility from any other occupation to the category of rural manual work was much higher for SCs than from Other Castes, showing Dalit men who remain in their villages are unable to move out of rural manual labour, or actually with some or other reasons they have been trapped in that. They study suggested an urgent need for generating opportunities for skilled employment for the mass of rural manual workers, Dalit workers in particular. Such employment generation is critical to improving the well-being of rural populations.
Prasad (2015) using the references of ancient holy texts, argued that Varna system was associated mainly with qualities exhibited by an individual and never associated with birth. He further opined that in ancient India, caste system never remained a constant or continuous phenomenon. Several outcastes using social mobility improved their hierarchy. According to him, vertical mobility is a phenomenon in the open society whereas closed society like India, there could be motilities that are more horizontal.

However, the situation changed because of democratisation, liberalisation, privatisation, and globalisation of the Indian economy. This change caused a change in the social hierarchy, position, and status and caste could no more regard as a symbol of hierarchy, in fact, caste based hierarchy largely now could term as self-ascribed. Without disturbing the caste system, status of a certain caste or social group moved vertically upward despite maintaining the main features of caste system such as endogamy and heredity. However, urbanisation has promoted inter social groups marriages to some extent. Nevertheless, marriage could also cause upward or downward movement. Further, the study opined generational mobility is taking place in India on large scale.

Mollegaard and Jaeger (2015) analysed data from the Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth (DLSY). The DLSY is an ongoing cohort study of 3151 individuals born in or around 1954, have information on three generations from in the same family: grandparents, parents and grandchildren on economic, cultural, and social capital. The study hypothesised that grandparents’ economic capital should be of little importance in the Scandinavian context because Denmark is characterised by free education, low-income inequality, and universal social security, while their cultural (educational attainment, subscription of daily newspaper and participation in lectures, arts/crafts classes) and social capital (grandparents and parents having social connections and contacts) should be relatively more important.

Study found after controlling for parents’ capital, study found that grandparents’ cultural capital (but not their economic and social capital) has a positive effect on the likelihood that grandchildren choose the academic track in upper secondary education over all other tracks. Authors opined that, at least in the Scandinavian context, non-economic resources affect grandchildren’s educational success to a much extent.


2.1.2 Social exclusion and discrimination

Sarukkai (2009) explains that the practice of untouchability not only involve the notions of pollution and purity but philosophical foundation based on the analysis of the phenomenology of “touch.” The practice of untouchability within the ideology of Brahmanism used supplementation and alienation (outsourcing) as the creation of separate supplementary communities of untouchables, making it possible for the Brahmans to have a separate community and highest position in social hierarchy. According to Sarukkai, the process of supplementation occurs through the change from “not wanting to be touched” to “refusing to touch.” Moreover, a “dangerous supplement” where the Brahman and untouchable are opposed to each other and the latter is inferior with respect to the former, making untouchability a positive virtue for Brahmans and for untouchable Dalit, it is a negative fact. So untouchability is not merely a religious sanction that is excluding the impure but it is beyond these sanctions of pollution and purity issues.

Guru (2009) has used the method of archeology of untouchability and argued that the method may become redundant in rural context, where the caste discrimination and untouchability is openly practiced but at least in urban settlements (in cities), the modern context untouchability has acquired a new form as it cannot be played out in the social arena. He enlarged the discussion on untouchability by focusing on the distorted mind of Brahmans. According to him “ideal untouchable” (Brahman) is trapped between domestic and public spheres by supported myths related to untouchability. He argued that a good citizen in public sphere may not be a good person because of his/her offensive, irrational and authoritative behaviour in the domestic sphere and this behaviour/attitude towards “despicable untouchable” (real untouchable) confirms that the self-definition of upper caste is not possible with the coexistence of real untouchables.

Kumar et al. (2009) analysed sample of households in slums of four cities to revisit the caste issue in the contemporary Indian context and found variations across social groups in terms of education, occupation, and income even then when a slum is often considered as a homogenous lot with acute destitution. The vulnerability conceptualised in terms of
several socio-economic and demographic indicators exists among most of the social categories despite variations in the relative size of deprivation. In a binomial logit framework, further, it was found that odds of well-being, beyond a threshold limit, prove to be lower for the socially backward classes than the others. The study suggested that in the deprived areas like slums, particularly in the urban space, where vulnerability has political lineages as well, caste-based schemes may lead to igniting conflicts or communal tensions instead of smoothing the contours of inequalities and have important policy implications, indicating that policy initiatives for deprived areas irrespective of caste factor are more important than the caste-based support measures.

Rawal and Swaminathan (2011) using household data from Project on Agrarian Relations in India (PARI) for eight villages of four states namely; Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Rajasthan with objectives to analyse the nature of between group income inequalities, particularly between SC and other social group households found the existing evidence of large concentration of SC households in lowest income quintiles. The study found that those villages with relatively high agricultural productivity and a higher level of prosperity were characterised by high-income inequality and caste segregation. Between groups inequalities ranged from 1 to 14% by the conventional decomposition method but when ELMO\(^1\) method was employed it reached to more than 50.0% of total inequality

While examining the determinants of rural poverty in India in contrast to SC and ST households Gang et al. (2008) used 55\(^{th}\) round of NSS data and estimated regression equations for monthly per capita consumption expenditure followed by decomposition to capture the separate effect of individual/household characteristics and differences in the effectiveness of these characteristics in deciding poverty gaps between groups. The study found large poverty incidence among SC and ST households compared to non-scheduled households and differences in characteristics attributes more than 60 (50) \(^\%\) of poverty incidence gap for SCs (STs) than the effectiveness of characteristics (transformed regression coefficients), which is largely characterised by differences in education.

Borooah et al. (2014) examined the Indian Human Development Survey (IHDS) household data of 2004-05 to analyse the issue of poverty and inequality from the perspective of per capita monthly consumption expenditure and its dependence on caste or religion forces in India. Taking into consideration the role of heterogeneity within the non-SC community, authors sub-divided households in high caste Hindus, OBC Hindus, SC, ST, high caste Muslims and OBC Muslims and used diversify asset ownership as education, land, physical and labour assets, to capture the deprivation in consumption. The study found chances of being poor for households were dependent on their social identity as SCs, STs and Muslims were mostly in lowest quintiles of consumption as compared to high caste Hindus. The low proportion of assets and consumption was clear and even the outcome of assets in terms of increased consumption was very low for disadvantaged social groups when compared to high caste Hindus, particularly education and possession of livestock.

Chandhoke (2015) explaining the concept of historical injustice argued that it takes note of a variety of historical wrongs but injustices like slavery and “untouchability” fall into a different category altogether. Though, all cases of injustice caused deep harm and warrant retribution, reparation, public acceptance of wrongdoing and apologies, this category; past wrongs continues into the present in some form or the other and tends to resist repair.

The author argued that communities like Dalits that have suffered from multiple historical injustices are not only likely to be economically deprived, but also socially marginalised, politically insignificant in terms of the politics of “voice” as distinct from the “vote,” humiliated, dismissed, and subjected to intense disrespect in and through the practices of everyday life. Anyone who suffers from these multiple disadvantages will find it impossible to participate in social, economic, and cultural transactions as equals. Efforts have been made to repair historical injustice. But, the ideology of discrimination continues to dominate independent India despite a multitude of constitutional provisions, laws, affirmative action policies, and political mobilisation.
The author opined undoubtedly political theorists have to take the history of injustice, for example, “untouchability,” seriously. The beginning point of repair of historical injustice is the “here” and the “now,” or the democratic context that shapes collective lives and aspirations. Comprehension of how deep the roots of injustice are is important. But, it is also important not to get trapped too much in the past and in the politics of recrimination and resentment that divides society irremediably and prevents the consolidation of a consensus on the need to battle discrimination.

A study (Tamim and Tariq, 2015) of a qualitative, multiple-case study that explored caste-based social exclusion and educational opportunity in rural Punjab, Pakistan using Sen’s capability approach and analysed under multiple dimensions of social exclusion suggested by Whitley and Bourdieu’s social critical theory found evidence of caste based social exclusion. This refracted into ‘active’ and ‘passive’ forms of institutional exclusion, across temporal; the day-time that the schools utilised, was crucial for the low castes to invest in working to meet their basic needs as the poor wages, the low castes received, in return for their manual labour, meant that all family members, including children, must work to ensure the survival of their large families and spatial planes; strongly stigmatised, who lived on the outskirts of the village, were spatially excluded from schooling opportunity because of cultural barriers and for the less stigmatised low-castes, the issue was more of exclusion from the space of private schooling as the low-castes stood largely, excluded from the space of private education because of the inability to pay the fees.

The study argued all this resulted in micro-level exclusionary processes within schools and the self-deselection of the most stigmatised from education. According to authors, socio-economic exclusion based on caste was prevalent in two forms: (a) the concentration of large landholdings in high-castes and (b) economic dependence on high-castes in an agriculture based economy. The socio-economic social exclusion was more severe when alternate means of occupation were not available but lesser stringent when the markets were open to low-castes. Secondly, although traditional occupations signified by the castes were not strictly followed in all cases, the caste served as a reminder, a
collective memory for all to remind every one of the original social positionings of the individuals.

The study suggested that findings underscore the utility of capability approach, as it becomes clear that mere provision of schools does not translate into increased educational access, as individuals require different types of resources to overcome the constraints of their social structures. Hence, to keep the poorest in schools, schooling systems (timings and calendars) and teachers need to be more sensitive to the social conversion factors in the given context and diversity of needs of those involved. The low-caste children would remain at a disadvantage, even if the teachers were to teach equally in class because they require ‘more’ academic assistance than others in the class.

In order to capture the caste gaps in earnings from household businesses for India, Deshpande and Sharma (2016) used IHDS data for 2004-05 for non-farm business households, employing two different methodologies, firstly ordinary least square regression of mean earnings and thereafter, quantile regression to look earning difference in different income groups. The study found clear differences in individual characteristics between SC/ST and non-SC/ST business owners, favouring the latter in terms of more urban, larger man hours, more educated and having business at a fixed workplace. The decomposition of these earnings reflects that at least 20.0% of the net income gap is attributable to pure discrimination component and these gaps are higher for earners at lower percentiles leading to a phenomenon called ‘sticky floor.’ Authors suggested that instead of being dependent on the state for benefits, Dalits should enter the business and become entrepreneurs for not just being a job seeker but to be a job giver.

Bathran (2016) draws the attention towards discrimination among SCs with the references like; cases reported in Dalit Masaru (2003), a regional newspaper, the survey of 1,589 villages in Gujrat state, named “Understanding Untouchability.” He argued that the whole discussion on caste is caught in the binaries of Scheduled caste and General category, which leads to having little space for discussions regarding discrimination among the sub castes of SCs. According to him, the Dalit movement is not addressing inequality among SCs, has largely been vocal against the caste Hindu and all SCs have
not found space to articulate their differences. Moreover, political scenario in India made the middle-class Dalits to have close alliances with caste Hindu parties; besides the anti-caste ideology, lower class Dalits and their caste members.

A study (Spears, 2016) using survey data of 2939 respondents from rural north India (Bihar, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh) to ask whether lower caste respondents report lower levels of life satisfaction on average and whether this difference can be accounted for merely by the association of caste with poverty took life satisfaction as one measure of “subjective well-being.” The study took life satisfaction as dependent variable and controlling for a set of demographic and socioeconomic variables like ownership of assets, age, gender and education level; found lower caste people in rural north India evaluate their lives to be worse than higher caste people and this difference is not explained by poverty, suggesting that wealth cannot fully account for the average difference in life satisfaction across caste groups. Rather there appear to be differences in life satisfaction by caste, even at the same level of socio-economic status.

The average disadvantage in life satisfaction among Dalits relative to the forward (GEN) caste respondents was approximately as large as the difference in life satisfaction associated with owning two and a half more assets. This would be an approximately 20 percentile increase in the asset score, at the median of the asset distribution; so, being a Dalit is associated with a further reduction in life satisfaction, approximately as large as a quintile of the asset distribution, even after accounting for the fact that Dalits are poorer and less well educated on average. The disadvantages of caste matter for subjective well-being and life satisfaction beyond the mere association of caste with poverty, and are easily discernible in the self-report of rural North Indians.

Using nationally representative IHDS panel data from 38,853 households from two waves, 2004-05 and 2011-12, the study (Thorat et al., 2017) tried to analyse the extent of poverty among social groups and concentrated on socio-economic and demographic characteristics that were deciding, the one’s falling into or escaping from poverty. The study found poverty ratios have fallen substantially over the study period in India but the proportions showed clear hierarchy where SCs and STs are most vulnerable to poverty.
Definitely, the proportion of households escaping poverty is much more than that of falling into it (newly poor) but here too a clear disadvantage for SCs and STs can be seen. The disadvantage was clear as lagged logistic regression showed that for falling into poverty, the odds are 1.104 and 1.704 for SCs and STs respectively particularly rural households are more disadvantageous. Increased human, social, physical capital and better employment opportunities like salaried, business was helpful in avoiding from falling into poverty than escaping it which showed that the characteristics were affecting differently in escaping and avoid falling into poverty and the effect varies in strength for both.

The norms about purity, pollution, caste, and untouchability are rooted so deeply in Indian context that these values and beliefs account for widespread open defecation in rural India (Coffey et al., 2017). The authors in this study using survey data from 3200 households from rural north India (Bihar, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh) in 2013-14 and with some additional follow up in depth interviews in 2015, tried to solve the puzzle of widespread open defecation in rural India. Open defecation in rural India was mostly attributed to beliefs, values, and norms about purity and pollution rather than purely relative to the material or educational deprivation that causes people to reject affordable latrines. The reason behind this is that many people consider having and using a pit latrine ritually impure and also polluting, on the other; open defecation is seen as promoting purity and strength.

The occupational segregation can be clearly seen where a particular caste is being forced to do degrading or dirty jobs, which automatically decides their fate and keep it in the hands of the upper caste. How it has been done is illustrated by the authors like; “Pit latrines have pits that need to be emptied manually. Rural people equate manual pit emptying with scavenging traditionally done by Dalits. Because of this, non-Dalits refuse to empty their own latrine pits.” This is how the caste affiliations and beliefs on pollution and purity work against the Dalits and for generations, is being used to justify their oppression, exclusion, and humiliation.
2.1.3 Earnings differentials and caste/gender wage discrimination

The study (Tilak, 1980) based on a sample survey in the West Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh found clear evidence of discrimination in employment by sex and region (rural-urban), and in wages by caste, sex, and region. The study opined that prejudices against gender and caste resulted in deliberate discrimination in the jobs market and lead to higher incidence of unemployment. Further, discrimination in the form of low wages for weaker sections like women, rural people, and backward castes was more prevalent and is very sensitive to age and level of education of the respondent.

Very few studies can be found on caste discrimination in earnings (wage) and occupation (job) in the Indian scenario. The pioneer work in this context is done by Banergee and Knight (1985), with the objective to examine the wage differentials between Non-SC and SC workers in Indian labour market. Using a survey of workers in Delhi, authors found the “discrimination” component accounts for the significant part of raw wage differentials and that “wage discrimination” (discrimination in wages within the same occupation) superimposed the “job discrimination” (discrimination in access to certain occupations). Discrimination against SCs was prevalent in the form of poorly paid “dead end” jobs, assignments to jobs, recruitments based on contacts mostly in manual occupations, which causes traditional discrimination practices to be still alive in contemporary India.

Similar results were also found by Borooah et al. (2007) that job discrimination is only a part of observed wage differentials. Using NSS data, authors argued that jobs reservation succeeded in raising the representation of persons from the SC/ST in regular salaried and wage employment by about 5.0% points. The discrimination component (employment deficit) for non-Muslim OBCs was at 11.0%; on the other hand, this component was at 33 to 37.0% for Muslim OBCs. The authors opined Muslims have a more compelling case than persons from the non-Muslim OBC if reservation is to be concerned to be extended beyond SC/STs.
**Madheswaran and Attewell (2007)** using NSS data of 38th, 50th and 55th rounds to study the extent of inequality and wage gaps between higher castes and the scheduled castes/scheduled tribes in the formal sector in urban Indian labour market, found 15.0% lower wages for SC/STs as compared to equally qualified others; is only because of labour market discrimination, however the endowment effect is very large, which is attributable to pre-market discriminatory practices with respect to education, health, nutrition etc.. The above approach employed by the authors to partition the wage gap into “endowment” and “discrimination” component is termed as “decomposition technique.”

Other important findings of the authors were (a) discrimination accounted for a large part of the gross earning differences between higher caste and SC/STs, with occupation discrimination (35.4%) being more important than wage discrimination (20.9%); (b) SC/STs suffered discrimination both in public and private sector, but private sector accounts more; and (c) SC/STs have considerably lower rate of return to education than others. On the basis of results, authors suggested establishing an equal employment opportunity act that will provide legal protection against discrimination in hiring (unequal access to jobs) and advocated reservation in private sector too.

The study of **Thorat and Attewell (2007)** gave strength to the need of reservation and legal protection against discrimination in private sector enterprises too. The authors examined the prevalence of discrimination in the job application process of private sector enterprises in India, based on a field experiment, sending applications for jobs as an upper caste Hindu applicant, as a Dalit and as a Muslim. By using, the statistical models like logistic regression and hierarchical non-linear Bernoulli model (HLM) the study found job applicants with a Dalit or Muslim name were on average significantly less likely to have a positive application outcome than the equivalent qualified persons with a high caste Hindu name and discriminatory processes operate even at the first stage of application process. The authors opined that even in the most dynamic modern sector of the Indian economy, caste favouritism and the social exclusion of Dalits and Muslims have infused private enterprises.
Indeed, Chakravarty and Somanathan (2008) studied the placement outcomes at Indian Institute of Ahmedabad, which revealed no caste discrimination, may be possible because campus selection was done in an organised manner.

A study (Thorat and Sadana, 2009) using fourth Economic Census (2005) to deal with objectives like; inter-caste disparities in ownership of private enterprises, the character of enterprise owned by different social groups and its linkages with poverty, found that the ownership of private enterprise continued to be highly skewed along caste lines. In both rural and urban areas, the share of SCs and STs in the number of private enterprises is much lower than their share in the county’s population which is the evidence of continuous historical restrictions on the ownership of private capital faced by the lower castes and that of the higher castes (HCs) exceeds their population share by a substantial margin. The inter-caste disparities are more pronounced in urban areas.

The study found however, SC and ST household operated relatively higher proportion of household enterprises\(^2\) as compared to others; low capital and use of traditional techniques generate a low turnover, low income and results in high poverty among these households. The authors opined that caste discrimination faced by low caste persons in various markets on buying and selling of particular goods and services, based on pollution and purity issues restricts and discourages the ownership of enterprise by the SCs. They suggested that specific compensatory measures to enhance the ownership of private capital are necessary, positive safeguards against market and non-market discrimination faced by SC/ST entrepreneurs and role of National Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Finance and Development Corporation could be effective in increasing the ownership by SC/STs in share equity of enterprises.

Ito (2009) using household data from rural north India to capture empirically caste based discrimination in Indian labour market found evidence of the existing transaction costs associated with entry into Indian labour market. The discrimination was prevalent for backward classes in access to regular jobs. The author opined that the affirmative

\(^2\) Also called own account enterprises (OAE), normally run by a household without hiring any worker on a fairly regular basis and are generally petty production activities run by the household family labour that needs little or no capital.
(reservation) policy used so far had been limited achievements and the conventional methods of reduced-form approaches have underestimated the labour market discrimination.

Siddique (2011) used a correspondence study to determine the extent of caste based discrimination in the Indian private sector and found that on average low-caste applicants need to send 20.0% more applications than high-caste applicants to get the same callback. Differences in callback which favoured high-caste applicants are particularly large when hiring is done by male or by Hindu recruiters.

While examining the phenomena of social exclusion of certain social group and related labour market discrimination, Papola (2012) used NSS and other secondary level data and found that although the discrimination and its related practices have declined over the years yet certain social groups like SCs face discrimination and disadvantage in employment opportunities and wages. Most of the wage differentials are due to differences in characteristics or endowment but discrimination still plays a significant role in raw caste wage gaps. The study advocated affirmative actions with capacity enhancement programmes to bring equality of opportunity to Indian labour market. Abraham (2012) using national level data of India from various sources also found significant wage discrimination in terms of wage differences. The author opined that from 1983 to 2009-10 the wage discrimination was visibly large and SCs still have lowest average daily wages with lowest growth rates for the same, resulting in divergence of wages from the general or others category.

Agrawal (2012) using national level data of IHDS to examine the earnings differentials among social groups and between genders found substantial earning differences between males and females. The same has also been found for different social groups where SCs and STs were most vulnerable and earnings are affected by household and individual characteristic or family background of a worker. The increasing returns to education are clear with rural urban divide and return significantly increased with increasing income quantiles, indicating the returns are higher at the upper end of the wage distribution. Agrawal (2014) using decomposition methods of Blinder and Oaxaca found large wage
differentials between social groups are mostly because of endowment factors (e.g. individual and household characteristics) but in the case of males and females this gap is attributed mostly to labour market discrimination.

There are some studies which particularly focus more on gender discrimination in earnings and its related factors. Among these, **Kingdon and Unni (2001)** examined the role of education in earning differentials and labour force participation rates between men and women using NSS data for two Indian states namely; Tamil Nadu and Madhya Pradesh confirming the existing evidences of increasing returns to education and found that there exist high gender wage discrimination in urban Indian labour market but education contributes little to this discrimination as women’s lower years of education than men’s is completely offset by higher returns to education for women than men. **Bhaumik and Chakrabarty (2008)** using the NSS employment unemployment data for the years 1987 and 1999 found that gender wage gap reduced significantly for all earning deciles and education cohorts in this period for urban India owing to increasing returns to experience for females in Indian labour market.

**Goel (2009)** also analysed NSS data for the period of 1983 to 2005 to capture the extent of gender wage gap before and after economic reform period in India found gender wage inequality has been increasing rapidly in post reform period despite the fast economic growth of Indian economy. It is also observed that wage inequality is in favour of highly educated and experience works as a key factor as it results in high relative wages. Using 66th round (2009-10) round NSS data, **Khanna (2012)** found higher gender wage gap is significantly associated with the lower end of wage distribution suggesting that among high wage group this gender gap is low compared to low wage groups and these low wage groups are more vulnerable to wage discrimination.

To analyse the extent of wage inequality in Indian labour market by sector, gender and activity status, **Das (2012)** used first Gini inequality index and then decomposition techniques on 61st round of NSS unit level data on employment unemployment situation. The study used three sectors viz. Public, Private formal and informal sectors and found a substantial wage gap between workers in these sectors. It was found that informal sector
is characterised by lowest wages between sectors and the private formal sector has higher wages than the public sector, however; wage differentials are more prevalent in private formal sector. It was observed that wage differentials were higher for rural areas as compared to its urban counterpart and were higher for females than males. Decomposition analysis showed that most of the wage inequality in India was attributed to differences ‘between’ groups e.g. for different activities and occupational categories, rather than ‘within’ groups but in the case of gender, it was mostly due to differences ‘within’ groups.

Deininger et al. (2013) focus on wage discrimination in informal labour markets, an issue largely neglected in the Indian literature despite the fact that informal markets are the main destination for the poorest section of the population. The results suggested that gender wage discrimination is larger in informal labour markets than in formal labour markets and more pronounced in the agricultural sector.\(^3\)

Sengupta and Das (2014) in his study using 50\(^{th}\) and 66\(^{th}\) round unit level data of Employment and Unemployment situations in India by NSS focused on gender wage discrimination among regular wage/salaried workers, caused by socio-economic factors and investigated temporal effects on gender wage gap. The main findings of the study were (a) gender wage gap has regional differences as at every educational level, it has been increasing in rural areas and on the other hand it has been decreasing in urban areas, moreover this gap remained very high for among illiterate workers; (b) job opportunities for women increased during post reform periods, however, for the same level of productivity like education, experience etc. women have been paid lower wages and this gender discrimination was more profound in socially backward classes like SC/STs and religious minorities like Muslims; and (c) gender discrimination, superimposed caste and religious discrimination, making it too difficult being at par with others for the women belonging to lower caste and religious minorities.

\(^3\) The same estimates for the non-agriculture sector were insignificant.
2.2 Relevance of the study

Earlier reviews stated that SCs are backward due to their low level of education, low income, landlessness, poverty, etc. Intergenerational mobility in terms of education and employment has taken place over the years which resulted in social, economic as well as political mobility. But most of the mobility in terms of occupation has been horizontal for SCs and vertical mobility for them is very limited which is mostly decided by different socio-economic forces like; education, income (class), region and caste itself and labour force participation may be contingent more on ascriptive factors, rather than purely achievement factors.

The discrimination that takes place in social sphere has influenced the structure of wages and earnings of different social groups and SCs are most vulnerable to wage differential that is not only because of pre labour market discrimination but also due to caste discrimination resulting in occupational dissimilarity and lower earnings compared to other castes. In spite of affirmative actions and social welfare programmes, the status of lower castes has not improved to the ideal and required level.

The literature reviewed so far points out the studies about mobility, socio-economic conditions and caste discrimination are singularistic and do not encompass the totality of mobility taking place today in the caste system. These do not explore the issues of mobility holistically. The social mobility at the family level, which is the primary focus of this research study, basically depends upon the attributes and socio-economic conditions of the family concerned. Since all the families belonging to a caste do not possess a common set of attributes and socio-economic condition enabling them equally to have mobility, therefore, accentuates a ‘class’ like differentiation within the same social group. The findings of the study are based on statistical tests used both on primary as well as on secondary data which gives strength to our findings and policy suggestions.

Knowing the relevance of government data, here in India and the world, most researchers still prefer primary survey studies to know the ground realities of these government data and validity of the same and these data are common in nature which does not enable us to
focus on particular issues of one’s own needs and concerns. As far as, when we see the history of suppression and oppression of a particular social group called SCs and taking them as so called ‘outcastes’ or ‘untouchables’, the relevance of the study will validate, until the system of suppression and discrimination continues in our society and by attempts like this study may remove this blot.

As a researcher, having resource constraints, a particular geographical area has been selected purposively out of which a sample has been taken from the population of this geographical area called ‘Allahabad Division.’ Allahabad Division has got a distinguished historical background from the social and economic point of view, which can be found very rarely in other parts of the state. Its sanctity is manifested by references to it in Puranas, the Ramayana, and the Mahabharata. It is a city of mixed culture. This study is all the more necessary since no review could be found in the context of Allahabad Division in particular and very few in the context of UP in general. Hence, there is need to revisit and consider the present status of the SCs in India in general, and in Allahabad Division in particular. Study based on primary data can be generalised to the state of Uttar Pradesh as well as to nation as appropriate sampling techniques have been used in choosing the sample for the study.